SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

Signing of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference's Joint Declaration

A PRINCIPAL CAUSE

of the victories of the Indochinese peoples

THE Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is a historic landmark and a confirmation of the unshakable determination of the Indochinese peoples to enhance their unity, intensify the fight, and win complete victory in the common struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen.

Developments in Indochina over the past three years have eloquently demonstrated the judiciousness and prescience of the assessment of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. The solidarity and friendship among the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia is evergreen and everlasting. The common struggle of the three peoples against the US and its henchmen has won great victory and is forging ahead powerfully. The aggressive policy of the US imperialists as well as the "Nixon doctrine" has basically failed in Indochina.

After the failure of the policy of intervention and aggression carried out for decades with the most brutal war moves, including the use of more than half a million US expeditionary troops and hundreds of B.52 strategic bombers, the US government has in the end been forced to sign the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. The Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam are great victories of the Vietnamese people in their history of struggle against foreign aggression, and the most brilliant result of the heroic fight of the entire Vietnamese people and armed forces against the imperialist chieftain who wields the biggest military and economic power in the world.

In Laos, the US special warfare has been thwarted by the staunch fighting of the Lao people and liberation army. The Vientiane Agreement is an extremely great victory of the persistent and valiant struggle of the Lao people under the correct leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front. This Agreement has opened for the entire Lao people the finest prospects in the building of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

Big changes have taken place in Cambodia in the last three years. Warmly responding to the historic Declaration of March 23, 1973 of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, the entire Cambodian people have stood up millions like one man in struggle against the aggressors and the traitors. The NUFK and the RGNUC enjoy the support of the entire Cambodian people and high prestige on the international arena. Only after three years of resistance, the Cambodian patriotic forces now have gained control of nine-tenths of the territory with five and a half million inhabitants, throwing the lackeys of the US into complete isolation in Phnom Penh and a few provincial capitals.

A principal cause of those big victories is the close solidarity of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples in the fight against their common enemy. This militant solidarity has helped the three peoples to win so big victories as at present and is a firm guarantee for their complete triumph.

International Conference for South Viet Nam political prisoners' return

IN face of the grave threat to the life of tens of thousands of persons now held and tortured in South Viet Nam by Nguyen Van Thieu for political reasons, an International Conference for the Return of Political Prisoners in South Viet Nam was convened in Paris from April 12 to 14, 1973 on the initiative of the organization called *Tap The Viet Nam* (Vietnamese Community) headed by Roman Catholic Priest Nguyen Dinh Thi, in co-ordination with the Committee for a Better Prison System in South Viet Nam and the Alliance for the Return of South Viet Nam Political Prisoners (United States).

The Conference was attended by representatives of 97 organizations in France and many other countries including the United States, Canada, Italy, Switzerland, Japan... and many international organizations like the World Peace Council, the International Federation of Democratic Lawyers, the Amnesty International, the Socialist International, etc.

The representatives of the Association of Vietnamese Residents, the Liaison Office of the Vietnamese Central Forces headquartered in France, the Overseas Bureau of the United Socialist Party (South Viet Nam) and other foreign-based South Vietnamese organizations like the National Catholics Movement, the Overseas Vietnamese Buddhist Association... were also present.

Also taking part in the Conference was Mr Pham Van Ba, Director of the Information Office of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam in France.

At the Conference, Father Nguyen Dinh Thi introduced to the participants a number of documents fresh from South Viet Nam, including a list of nearly 2,000 political prisoners, many of whom had been deported to Poulo Condor Island even though their release had been announced by the Thieu regime. The documents also included a number of letters from the Committee for a Better Prison Regime in South Viet Nam to the Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Supervision and Control and to Pope Paul VI, denouncing the repressive schemes and methods of the Thieu administration against the political prisoners. They also included factual pieces of information about atrocities in various prisons in South Viet Nam and a copy of the decision of the Military Court of the Third Corps Area and the Special Zone of Saigon passing penalties on a number of Catholic priests in South Viet Nam just because the latter described the United States as "the imperialist ruler of South Viet Nam just as of Latin America."

Many participants in the Conference expressed the indignation of the world's peoples at the brutalities of Thieu against the political prisoners in South Viet Nam and denounced his serious violations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, especially by refusing to return detained civilian personnel. They reported on the actions of the peoples in various countries in solidarity with, and in support of, the struggle of the Vietnamese people to urge the Nguyen Van Thieu regime to strictly implement all the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, set free all political prisoners and enforce democratic liberties in South Viet Nam.

After three days' discussions, the Conference unanimously adopted an appeal denouncing the Saigon administration for refusing to strictly implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and continuing to detain and torture many persons kept in the prisons of South Viet Nam for political reasons.

The Conference also approved two letters respectively to those still detained in Thieu's prisons for political reasons and to the Commission for a Better Prison Regime in South Viet Nam, another to the member countries of the International Conference on Viet Nam, and a fourth to Pope Paul VI, and a Program of Action with the following main points: wide dissemination of the documents of the Conference, publication of a Black Book against the atrocious prison regime of the Thieu administration in South Viet Nam, appointment of an international team to investigate the conditions of prisoners in South Viet Nam and organization of a Week of Action on April 27, 1973.

in Thieu's women's prisons

Beating to death and DDT solution as means of torture

AS from 1968 until recently Phu Tai jail (Qui Nhon) had been a detention centre for so-called "Female Viet Cong War Prisoners." Right after entering the camp the inmates received warning beatings of every fashion. "Beat until they miscarry, beat to make them sterile, beat so that they no longer seek pregnancy," such was the motto of the torturers. Should you refuse to salute the flag, you are beaten. If you refrain from singing to laud the Saigon administration when you are required to, you are beaten. So you are if you do not attend depraving film shows or fail to greet warders.

In early 1972, when Nguyen Thi Khach went out to throw refuse into the dust-bin she met the guardian of her ward, lieutenant Loc. She did not greet him. Immediately, he dragged her to his office, and once there he kicked her to the ground, then trampled upon her belly. Khach's pangs did not yet soothe Loc's anger. He reached out for a rough stick and pushed it into her privy parts. She fell unconscious. The rascal seized her hair and dragged her back to her ward. MPs hurled firewood at Khach's friends who ran out to pick her.

While looking for a spade to do cleaning work around her cell, Ngac chanced to come across warders Minh and Quy. She did not bow to them. In no while they grasped her feet, lifted her and then plunged her head into a bucket of DDT solution. Some time later Ngac lost all her hair, could hardly see, her face swell round like a shaddock.

After a hunger strike, Pham Thi Ca, suspected to have led it, was put to torture. Major Hau of the commanding staff directed Quy to beat her with fire-wood. Her facial bone was broken, blood ejected profusely. At the infirmary where she was carried by her friends, the medic contented himself with giving her a water compress. All the camp mates decided to eat without salt and spare part of their daily water ration, with which to heal Ca's wound. With sunken cheeks, a broken nose, eyes which could hardly see, and teeth which could not chew, Ca almost fell mad.

With few exceptions all the detainees at Phu Tai were knocked unconscious and soiled in the face with paint for having refused to salute Saigon's flag or to greet warders. It occurred that prisoners experienced such a treatment while in water-closets.

In September 1971, the detainees were requested to fill forms to make identity cards in view of the "presidential elections." As they did not comply guardians struck them with rayfish rods and iron-tipped rubber sticks and cut their rice and water ration. Several prisoners ventured to unlock the well lid to take water. MPs caught them by surprise, pushed three into the well and hard hit the rest. The victims of this arch-inhuman act were saved by the protest shouts of all the prison inmates, which compelled the criminals to take them out of the well.

It was not unsual occurrence that the detainees suffered from rice and water cuts for from one week to ten or twelve days. On such occasion, they had to use their own urine as drinking water. Since this did not suffice they licked their sweat to quench their thirst.

At night, the warders would secretly keep watch on the prisoners. Should the latter make a noise by scratching their sides or turning right and left on the floor, they would irrupt into their cells and administer beatings. Non-com Giam and warder Minh many a time mixed their food with garbage worms or spilt sewer water on the part of the floor where they used to lie.

Old detainees of sixty to seventy did not escape from tortures. Ho Thi Chinh of Chau Doc was beaten, exposed in the open until she got serious skin-burns and finally confined to a 'special' cell. Ba Phung who did not respond to the so-called "open-arms policy," was put to electric torture and kept in a tiger cage for ten days. A general hunger strike in her favour by the camp inmates brought her back to her former detention room. Nguyen Thi An did not recover from paralysis caused by the wounds she got as non-com Quy hurled firewood at her head and sides. Mother Du, the oldest prisoner — over seventy — had gone through various forms of torture and the tiger cage several times. She is now suffering from heart disease, beriberi and cannot walk steadily.

Two-paw and four-paw hounds

ASIDE from the aforesaid ill-treatment and such tortures as the famous "aeroplanes" and "submarine," female prisoners at Phu Tai experienced most revolting outrages. Thugs called them to the torture room, slammed the door, forced them to undress, did odious things and, one after the other, raped them. They tied them up, incited snakes or eels to penetrate into their privy parts.

Nguyen Thi Luom, a twenty-eight-year-old of Hoai Hao village, Hoai Nhon district, Binh Dinh, was violated by ten Amerians soon after she had been thrown into the jail. She went mad and insulted the Yankee aggressors all day long. In one of her fit, her mates helped her to the infirmary. On instructions from the prison staff who particularly resented Luom's behaviour, medical attendant Tran Vinh Hoa gave her a poisonous injection. The reaction was immediate: she turned grey all over, foamed, opened her eyes wide and lost consciousness. Luom died in a few moments.

Mme Ngo Ba Thanh in Thieu's jail

The detainees put up a tough struggle, denouncing the premeditated crime. After round-about denials, the staff and medic Tran Vinh Hoa, in the face of compelling evidences, admitted that poison had been injected by "inadvertance."

Huynh Thi Ng., fourteen, was beaten unconscious and raped by six Americans. When she came to, she could not stand up.

More sadistically still, men of a section of Pak Jung Hee troops, Tiger Division, abased to death Long of Binh Giang village, Binh Khe district, Binh Dinh. They then planted a pointed stick into her vagina.

The commanding staff also used hounds to outrage the female prisoners. Nguyen Thi D., sixteen, of Phu My, Binh Dinh, was put to such torture by sergeant Tu and several other warders. When the girl had recovered her senses, she insulted the rascals. They cynically chuckled, saying, "Not only you but all stubborn ones should endure the same lot."

Cruelty has not been able to get the better of the female detainees at Phu Tai. They fought relentlessly and their fight has triumphed: they have been set free.

PHUONG NGUYEN

At the 5th founding anniversary of the VNANDPF

"We oppose enmity and discrimination"

President Nguyen Huu Tho stressed

THE policy of national reconciliation and concord has been reasserted by the leaders of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation at the recent meeting held in a South Viet Nam liberated area to mark the fifth founding anniversary of the Alliance (April 20).

The Presidium of the meeting which was sponsored by the Alliance Central Committee, included Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao, Chairman of the Alliance CC, Vice-President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam; Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the South Viet Nam NFL Central Committee; and Huynh Tan Phat, President of the PRG.

The meeting was attended by representatives of various political parties, mass organisations, religious communities, the People's Liberation Armed Forces, the revolutionary power at various localities and many intellectuals, personalities, students, industrialists and businessmen coming from Saigon and other South Viet Nam cities.

After hailing the big victories recorded by the Vietnamese people, bringing out the significance of the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and condemning the US and Saigon administration's serious violations of the Paris Agreement, Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao said:

"All the fascist manœuvres and bellicose acts of violation of the Agreement by the US and Saigon administration have seriously and directly hurt the political life in South Viet Nam and the security and welfare of the South Viet Nam townspeople of all strata. Almost everybody in the South Viet Nam cities are living in a stifling atmosphere and their life is being seriously threatened.

Peace has come, but there still are many difficulties caused by the US-Thieu side. That is why the South Vietnamese people have no other alternative than to rise up in a united struggle to maintain peace and complete independence, achieve democratic liberties and welfare, and build a peaceful, independent, democratic, and prosperous South Viet Nam, in the advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country.

As pointed out in its Political Program, the Alliance stands for the rallying of very broad masses of the people regardless of political tendencies and past activities, provided that they stand for peace, independence, democracy and national concord. In the spirit of putting the interests of the Fatherland above all, the Alliance is ready to join hands and actions with all those concerned with the destiny of the Fatherland, desirous of living in peace and seeing the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of the country respected."

Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao continued:

"From this rostrum, we want to reaffirm once again that we will unswervingly and closely unite, sincerely co-operate and join actions in a long-term basis, with the National Front for Liberation in safeguarding peace, guaranteeing independence, democracy and national concord, as well as in rebuilding the country and in bringing a free and happy life to the entire people.

We can assert that the will for peace and national reconciliation and concord is now stronger than ever, since it meets the pressing demand of every Vietnamese. The dark forces running counter to this trend cannot survive."

In his speech of welcome, Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho brought out the significance of the coming into existence of the VNANDPF and warmly praised the struggle of the South Vietnamese urban people of all strata. Dealing with the present situation, Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho laid stress on the historic significance of the Vietnamese nation's victory at the same time denounced the dark manoeuvres and acts in violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam by the US and Saigon administration. He said:

The unchangeable objective of the South Vietnamese people's struggle is to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. For the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, the NFL and the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam will unswervingly respect and scrupulously implement all the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and they urge the US government and Saigon administration to do the same. Should the Saigon administration continue encroaching upon the liberated areas by force and massacre the people, the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces are resolved to deal them vigorous riposte.

In the past, during the war period, facts proved that no brutalities, nor insolent threats and perfidious manoeuvres could shake the iron-like determination of the Vietnamese people to struggle for their fundamental national rights.

At present, it is equally certain that no brutalities, nor insolent threats and perfidious manoeuvres can shake the will of our entire people to preserve peace, ensure strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the achievement of the independence and democracy and the ultimate peaceful reunification of our beloved Fatherland...

Today at this grand ceremony, once again, on behalf of the Central Committee of the NFL and the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam, we solemnly declare that we will perseveringly and unceasingly struggle for the realization of national reconciliation and concord with a view to discarding enmity and discrimination and promoting the solidarity and mutual love among the Vietnamese people in order to join efforts to defend peace, rebuild the country, achieve independence and democracy and build a life free from want.

National concord is the bright, correct and glorious path.

The Viet Nam motherland is opening wide her arms to welcome all her sons including those who have taken the wrong side but now want to return to a life in national concord and harmony.

Those who refuse to take that path will certainly not be able to resist the popular revolutionary storm and the mighty current of history.

We once again declare that we warmly welcome and are ready to co-operate with all the organizations and individuals regardless of political tendencies, religious creeds and past records, including those who are in the Saigon administrarion and army, in order to struggle together for the scrupulous implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the achievement of the genuine right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

★ in the cities ★ in the cities ★

+ The union of Saigon publishers and newsprint dealers has just petitioned the House Commission of Budgets, Finances and Taxes against the exorbitant taxes levied on it. The petition cited the case of a small printing shop which had to pay this year a total profit tax of 2,473,000 piastres, or 40 times more than last year. The Saigon administration was urged to revise its current tax policy.

+ 4,000 railway workers in South Viet Nam struck for 2 hours on the afternoon of April 17 for an immediate pay rise. Their claims included:

— Immediate enactment of a decree fixing the minimum pay as from 1971-72.

— A monthly 2,000-piastre cost of living allowance to every worker.

— Payment of the 160 million piastres of back pay since 1970-71.

Their claims were made as early as in 1971 and have been pigeonholed ever since.

— On April 16, the Saigon administration stealthily transfered Mme Ngo Ba Thanh, President of the Women's Movement for the Right to Life, from Bien Hoa prison to another detention camp. Her wherabouts remain unknown, despite repeated inquiries made by her relatives at Bien Hoa and Chi Hoa jails, and even at the hospital of the Saigon General Police Directorate.

Mme Ngo Ba Thanh was unwarrantedly arrested by the Thieu administration on Sept. 18, 1971. On April 12 this year she was known to go on a hunger strike against Thieu's brazen statement in Washington that there were no political prisoners in South Viet Nam.

— Many dailies in Saigon in mid-March criticized the Thieu administration drafting school-teachers instead of increasing the teaching staff. Those deferred for the time being are treated with contempt and paid very poorly. Moreover, they may be given the sack any time.

In addition, a reactionary programme has been introduced, and schools are being used as a psywar breeding ground. Reactionary organisations, such as the "National Defence Forces in School," have been created, and teachers and students have to take part in military training or mount guard day and night. Every effort is being made to sow discord among teachers. According to conservative estimates, some 100,000 school-age children in Saigon receive no education at present.

— The Saigon administration has ordered its police to put under arrest all Vietnamese journalists seen in company of foreign correspondents, who are not permitted even to hire helpers or guides to accompany them into the liberated areas.

Police chiefs are asked to personally escort such Vietnamese to Saigon where they must report to the General Police Directorate. Regarding foreign newsmen, they are allowed to detain them for questioning, tape their answers and take their photographs before releasing them.

Such a grave violation of the freedom of the press has been strongly protested by both Vietnamese and foreign pressmen. The Saigon administration has been urged to cancel such an arbitrary decision and to implement in full all the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

— The April 15 issue of the paper *Dai Dan Toc* (Greater Nation) was seized by the Saigon administration, because the paper's manager refused to carry the Information Ministry's communiqué on Thieu's visit to the United States, Italy, Britain, West Germany, South Korea and Taiwan. The paper's manager has issued a very strong protest against the seizure, pointing out that the pretext for it was both illogical and illegal.

6 IMPORTANT POINTS

of the PRG delegation at the two South Vietnamese parties Conference in Paris

At the 8th session of the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties in La Celle Saint Cloud Castle, Minister Nguyen Van Hieu, Chief of the PRG delegation has set forth 6 important points. He wanted to clear the way for the prompt signing of an accord on South Viet Nam internal affairs, thereby realizing the profound aspirations of the South Vietnamese for peace, independence, democracy, national reconciliation and concord, while meeting the world peoples' desire for peace.

Summing up the application of the Paris Agreement over these 90 days, Minister Nguyen Van Hieu said :

"THE Paris Agreement on Viet Nam constitutes a great victory for the Vietnamese people that has for years persistently struggled for peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam which has striven, together with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to reach the conclusion of this Agreement, is determined to vindicate it, to implement all its provisions strictly and to do its utmost so that the other parties do the same.

However, throughout the ninety days that have elapsed since the Agreement was signed, it has been seriously and systematically violated by the United States and the Saigon administration.

In utter disregard of its own pledge, the United States still maintains its military involvement under various forms and keeps interfering with the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, has not ceased slandering and threatening to use force against North Viet Nam.

Moreover, the US has encouraged and supported the Saigon administration's violation of the basic provisions of the Agreement, especially of the Provisions concerning the ceasefire, the return of captured military and civilian personnel and the democratic liberties and national concord.

In the meantime, the United States has feverishly escalated the war in Cambodia and resumed the bombing in Laos...

This is the profound and direct cause which makes the present situation in Viet Nam and in Indochina extremely serious. This is also the cause which hampers any progress of the consultative conference between the two South Vietnamese parties."

Minister Nguyen Van Hieu went on :

"PROCEEDING from the imperative aspirations of the South Vietnamese people namely peace, independence, democracy and national reconciliation and concord, responding to the desire of the world's people for peace,

— with a view to maintaining a lasting and stable peace, guaranteeing the South Vietnamese people's genuine right to self-determination, and in keeping with the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights,

— on the basis of the spirit and letter of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and its Protocols,

— with good will and a desire to bring the consultative conference between the two South Vietnamese parties out of its present deadlock and to favour its rapid progress,

— by order of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, our delegation presents the following six points :

1. Immediately cease hostilities, strictly implement all the Provisions concerning a durable cease-fire without limit of time, with a view to maintaining a lasting peace in South Viet Nam.

a) The armed forces of the two South Vietnamese parties must scrupulously respect the cease-fire, and completely cease hostilities. The armed forces of the Republic of Viet Nam must end at once all their land-grabbing operations, all bombing and shelling, all hostile acts, all terrorism, coercion and reprisals, and immediately bring back their units to the positions held before January 28, 1973.

b) Where armed forces of both South Vietnamese parties are in direct contact, the commanders of these units shall meet at once with a view to reaching an agreement on the necessary measures to avert conflict and to maintain peace.

c) The Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall rapidly determine the areas controlled by each South Vietnamese party, the modalities of troop stationing and immediately agree on corridors, routes and other regulations governing the movement of military means of one party going through areas under the control of the other party.

2. Immediately return all Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam.

In a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, and in order to strictly implement Article 8 (c) of the Agreement, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is prepared to return within 90 days, as stipulated by the agreement, all the Vietnamese civilian personnel of the Saigon administration side captured and detained in South Viet Nam.

The Saigon administration side must :

a) Immediately afterwards return the Vietnamese civilian personnel of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam captured and detained in South Viet Nam.

b) Immediately return all those persons belonging to neither side, captured and detained for having struggled for peace, independence, better living conditions and democracy as well as all other persons captured during the war.

c) Pending their return, these captured and detained civilian personnel shall be treated humanely as stipulated by Article 8(b) of the Protocol concerning the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam. Arrests and detentions must stop at once and the harsh penitentiary system must be abolished.

3. Fully and immediately ensure the democratic liberties of the South Vietnamese people.

As well as the RSVN PRG, the Saigon administration must immediately and adequately ensure the democratic liberties of the people under Article 11(b) of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. It must abolish all forms of coercion, end all terror and repression, purge, and all other acts of encroachment upon the life and property of the people.

The Saigon administration must guarantee the South Vietnamese people's freedom of residence, freedom of work, freedom to move from one place to another place or between the two zones controlled by the two South Vietnamese parties for trading, taking care of their homes and gardens, visiting their relatives, or looking after their ancestors' tombs...

Overseas Vietnamese and all those who had to live abroad for political reasons must be allowed to freely return to South Viet Nam to visit their families and take part in the construction of their homeland. All those belonging to the political tendencies and religions who stand on neither side are free to engage in political activities in the two zones controlled by the two South Vietnamese parties. The freedom of press must be ensured, all forms of press must be ensured, all from of censorship and all measures aimed at muzzling the press must be abolished. Newspapers of different trends must be free to circulate in the two areas controlled by the two South Vietnamese parties.

4. Set up the National Council of national reconciliation and concord.

In a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination, the two South Vietnamese parties shall rapidly set up the national council of national reconciliation and concord, made up of three equal segments, to assume the task stipulated by the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam namely step up the two South Vietnamese parties' implementation of this Agreement in order to achieve national reconciliation and concord and guarantee democratic liberties, work out the procedures and modalities of local elections.

The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree upon the organizational structure and the number of council members, on the nomination of these council members on its working regulations, and on the inviolability of its members...

5. Hold free and democratic general elections in South Viet Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has always advocated that the South Vietnamese people decide the political future of South Viet Nam through genuinely free and democratic general elections to form a constituent assembly, to work out a constitution and to set up a government of South Viet Nam, representative of the aspirations and the will of the entire South Vietnamese people for peace, independence, democracy and national concord.

As provided for in Article 12 (b) of the Agreement, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is prepared to reach an agreement with the other side on the institutions to be set up through these general elections. The organization of the general elections and the decisions on the procedures and modalities of the general elections shall be under the responsibility of the national council of national reconciliation and concord.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam deems it necessary to rapidly stabilize the situation in South Viet Nam, and fully ensure without delay the democratic liberties of the South Vietnamese people so as to proceed quickly to the organization of genuinely free and democratic general elections in South Viet Nam.

6. The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam.

The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam shall be setteled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation. Among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are measures to reduce their military effectives and to demobilize the troops thus reduced. The two South Vietnamese parties will do this as soon as possible.

THE above six points are fully logical and reasonable, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. These points open the way to the rapid signing of an agreement on the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, with a view to realizing the deep aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, namely peace, independence, democracy national reconciliation and concord.

In order to make the conference rapidly successful, we propose that the two parties take these 6 points as a basis for discussion and settlement and proceed in two steps :

The first stage shall settle the most urgent issues including point 1 to point 4 in that order. Once an agreement has been reached on one issue, it will be immediately implemented. These most urgent issues must be settled first, and be fully implemented to serve as a basis for the settlement of points 5 and 6. The second stage shall settle issues 5 and 6.

If the two parties make positive efforts and show good will, we will be able to complete the first stage within a short span of time, and we will try afterwards to rapidly settle the remaining issues in the second stage.

The delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is prepared to discuss these 6 points with all the political and religious trends so as to contribute to the rapid settlement of the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. "

US responsibility for South Viet Nam Bipartite Conference's stalemate

THE Consultative Conference of the two South Vietnamese sides held seven sessions between March 19, 1973 and April 18, 1973 without being able to agree to an agenda. It was no dragging of feet but a real obstruction clashing with the spirit and letter of the Paris Agreement whose Article 12, paragraph 1 clearly stipulates : "Immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties shall hold consultations etc."

As to which side resorted to such a manoeuvre, one is left in no doubt if one remembers that at the opening session of the Conference on March 19, 1973, Minister Nguyen Van Hieu, head of the RSVN PRG delegation, invested with full powers to negotiate and sign an agreement, formally stated that the very inauguration of the talks was an important advance of the struggle of the South Vietnamese for their right to shape their own destiny and that his delegation would do everything in their power to help bring the consultations to fruition, in accordance with the South Vietnamese people's fond wish.

"With a constructive and good will attitude," he addressed the Saigon delegation, "with frankness and an open mind, our delegation is prepared to hold discussions for the prompt conclusion of an accord on South Viet Nam's internal problems. We expect the same frame of mind on your part. because that is the only way not to disappoint our fellow countrymen's confidence and expectations."

Mr Hieu's proposal for an agenda consisted of the three following points :

1.— Ensurance of democratic freedoms and realization of national reconciliation and concord ;

2.— Formation of the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord and its lower level organizations ;

3.— Holding of free and democratic general elections and local elections.

They are urgent major issues of South Viet Nam's internal politics, and their order on the agenda was fully consonant with the letter and spirit of the Paris Agreement, more particularly with its Chapter IV : "The exercise of the South Vietnamese Peoples right to self-determination."

As a sequence to the formulation of principles in Article 9 and of the undertaking of both South Vietnamese parties to abide by the cease-fire in Article 10, Article 11 specifies that "immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties will achieve national reconciliation and concord" and "ensure the democratic liberties of the people."

Article 12 provides that "immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties shall hold consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination to set up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments." The Council has the responsibility to see to the implementation of the Agreement by the two parties, to the organization of free and democratic general elections and to decide the procedures and modalities of local elections.

At the March 19 session, Mr Tran Luu Vien, leader of the Saigon administration's delegation, in his speech retold the story of the war which he misrepresented as a North Vietnamese aggression against South Viet Nam ! He also described the Saigon regime as the only legal government in South Viet Nam engaged in talks not with the Provisional Revolutionary Government, legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese resistance to US neo-colonialist aggression, but with a dissident political faction. He again raised the issue of the withdrawal of so-called North Vietnamese troops from South Viet Nam, which was struck out of the Paris Agreement after 4 years of quadripartite negotiations. It was on this basis which clashed with objective reality and the provisions of the Paris Agreement that he tabled the following order of the day :

1. — General elections ;

2. — National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord ;

3. — Problem of the Vietnamese armed forces in in South Viet Nam. Steps for reduction of military strength of both sides and demobilization of the forces cut.

It is apparent that such an order in the items of business is illogical. How can one take up the issue of the elections before that of the guarantee for democratic freedoms and of the realization of national reconciliation and concord and of the setting up of the Council of this name ?

It is precisely a case of putting the cart before the horse and a flagrant breach of the Paris Agreement in Articles 11 and 12 mentioned above.

It is not merely a matter of form. As the Saigon administration has never abided and is not abiding by the cease-fire, as it has never ensured and is not ensuring the democratic liberties listed in Article 11, its sudden offer to discuss the general elections first betrays its intention to have them held under terror, without any democratic freedom and without national reconciliation and concord. Moreover, the Saigon rule is still enforcing its 1967 "Constitution." In signing the Paris Accord, and in accepting the principle of national reconciliation and concord, it apparently regarded as no longer valid this "constitutional" provision which it had extensively used against all those who were for neutrality and all the patriots who were against US neo-colonialist domination. Putting to discussion the general elections issue is tantamount of dodging all debates on the invalidation of the 1967 "Constitution" and wanting to organize them under this outdated legislation.

The Saigon proposal being unacceptable in its form and substance, Mr Vien had to change his tactics. At the 6th session of the Consultative Conference, he put forth another two-point agenda, which was only an awkward revised version of the first one. Again the first item on it was the general elections and the second the Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. The third point bearing on the Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam re-appeared as one of the two prerequisites for the holding of elections, construed by the Saigon as the withdrawal of so-called North Vietnamese troops in South Viet Nam. Naturally Mr Nguyen Van Hieu rejected this equally absurd proposal.

At the 7th session, after assessing the situation and exposed US-Saigon violations of the Paris Agreement, the PRG spokesman protested against the Saigon side's obstruction. "It is clear," he stressed, "that if such a situation drags out this conference will not be able to achieve any results and to settle the whole of South Viet Nam's internal problems referred to in the Paris Agreement's Chapter IV. "

THOSE who are to be blamed for the marking time of the meeting are not in Saigon but Washington. US disinvolvement is formal not real. The US ground troops are gone from South Viet Nam but more than 10,000 US specialists, the strength of a division, stay behind to see to the functioning of the Saigon war machinery. This personnel said to be "civilian" has taken over all the structures of the MACV — great operational headquarters rightly dubbed the *Eastern Pentagon*. The US Embassy with its 80 military attachés, its consulates planted in every one of the four tactical zones of South Viet Nam and its pretorial guard consisting of a company of Marines remains the White House's Asian proconsulate. The Saigon army, made up of mercenaries in US pay, numbers more than one million, at least on paper.

US forces are neither very far : 48,000 ground troops in Taiwan, 21,700 others in Okinawa, 20,000 in Guam, 22,700 in Japan. On board the 7th Fleet, regiments of Marines and hundreds of fighter-bombers are standing by. Thailand, at half-an-hour jet flight from Saigon, has become a fortified US camp with 400 tactical jets and 50 B-52's, the left jaw of a pair of pincers whose right jaw is Guam with its 152 B-52's.

In other words, US aggressive forces have been reassembled around Viet Nam while the daily bombings of Lao and Cambodian liberated areas go on unabated, in defiance of Article 20 of the Paris Agreement and of Article 2 of the Accord on Restoring Peace and Realizing National Concord in Laos.

Mr Nixon's restraint lasting 60 days with a view to the safe withdrawal of his ground troops from South Viet Nam and to the release of all US P.O.W.'s in South Viet Nam, North Viet Nam and Laos, has simply ended since March 29, 1973. Thus the Nixon-Thieu joint communiqué published in San Clemente on April 3, 1973 reiterated the charge of a so-called troop and tank infiltration from North Viet Nam, renewed threats of vigorous reactions and openly referred to the problem of the future security of South Viet Nam under the Nixon doctrine.

And the action was immediately suited to the word : US air strikes were stepped up in Laos and Cambodia, where Saigon ground troops waded in to save the collapsing Lon Nol regime. The Paris Agreement has not been honoured in South Viet Nam where Thieu's military and police actions have not ceased and not a single Vietnamese civilian captive has been returned to the PRG. In the DRVN, the US administration has suspended its mine-clearing operations and put off sine die and unilaterally the meetings of the DRVN-US Joint Economic Commission and sent drones on reconnaissance flights over North Viet Nam.

The throwing of a spanner in the works of the Celle Saint Cloud Consultative Conference is no isolated case. It is but part of Mr Nixon's general policy and of a detailed plan to maintain US presence and neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam after US ground troop pull-out from there.

Unquestionably such a course of action is extremely dangerous and will invite on the US still heavier and more stinging setbacks.

Legally speaking, it is a glaring infringement of the Paris Agreement and of the Paris Act as well as of the Lao Peace and National Concord Accord.

Commenting on the Paris Agreement, the Brussels International Jurists' Conference underlined that "the US had undertaken to cease the hostilities without limit of time and to ensure a lasting and stable peace ;" that "consequently the maintenance around Indochina of the whole of US military potential and some alarming statements made by the US side do not preclude an eventual resumption of the bombings against Viet Nam are at variance with the abovesaid pledges in Paris."

On the other hand, "the US has promised in the Paris Agreement in 'a durable' manner and 'without limit of time' to ensure 'the complete cessation of hostilities', its obligation in this respect is not limited namely to the withdrawal of its forces, dismantling of its bases, clearing of its mines in the DRVN territorial waters, ports and rivers and ending of intervention. It has also the means and the duty to see that its client administration in Saigon discharge strictly and exhaustively the obligations laid down in the Paris Agreement."

US obligation can be regarded not as an obligation of means but one of end, and as such it has been failed in by the Nixon administration with the obstruction of the Celle Saint Cloud Consultative Conference.

THE South Vietnamese people require the immediate halt of all acts of sabotage against the Paris Agreement, an instant break-through of the Consultative Conference with the acceptance by the Saigon delegation of the PRG-suggested agenda and resumption of the Joint Economic Commision's sittings.

We call on the US people and men of good will from all nations to prevail upon the US government to live up to commitments, for the sake of peace.

On the occasion of Kings Hung's anniversary

Let's burn some joss-sticks in our forbears' memory

EVERY tree has its roots, every stream its source, every man his ancestors. Four thousand years ago, the first Vietnamese, loath to be assimilated into another nation, undertook a trek southwards, and against overwhelming odds settled in areas remote from the Red River's delta, and founded this nation.

Locked in a permanent battle with harsh environment, generation after generation, century after century, they succeeded in establishing a nation of their own, with a history full of glory and a civilization fulgent with light, which has survived up to our times.

Situated in an inclement geographical zone, sharing on one side the same boundary with a colossal neighbour whose kings were haunted by an expansionist dream, on another hemmed in by deep seas and on a third by high mountains and vast fields, the Viet nation has owed its survival to its fierce sence of independence and self-reliance and its people's sense of unity in adversity.

Today, the founding anniversary of our nation, let's pay tribute to our forefathers and review the lessons of a past of glory.

Our political convictions may differ but not our fond wishes, as Vietnamese, to see our land live on and our nation progress. Let this festive day be an opportunity for all of us Vietnamese to come closer to each other. Let's hope that our national consciousness will remove all feuds and unite all under the same roof. Let's pray that the great national cause shine across the country and dispel the shadow of enmity still looming large. Let's bandage together, bound by mutual affection, the still gaping wounds of the war.

More than anyone else, we are alive to the strength of unity which was instrumental in the past in our ancestors' victory over foes many times superior to us in number and armament. In the present-day world, a country with a 30 million population is but a small nation. It is sheer folly to divide it into two or three states and such a course of action thwarts our whole people's aspiration and runs counter to our entire nation's interests.

No one loves us more than our own fellow-countrymen. If we alienate ourselves from our national community, we shall head for doom and stalemate or at best for eternal dependence on foreigners.

On this founding anniversary of our nation, let's pray that national concord prevail all over the land of Viet Nam. Let's pray to the manes of our forbears to open our eyes to enticement from outside, to rid us of all divisive influences and to put all of us on our mettle in the building of a peaceful and happy Viet Nam.

Like a hood of red silk covering a looking glass,
People of the same country must love each other.

That is the order of the day of the Fatherland, that is the exhortation of our forefathers. On this holy day, may it be heeded by all.

Kieu Mong Thu

from the Saigon paper
Dai Dan Toc *(Greater Nation)*
April 14, 1973

Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra activities in Hanoi

LIEUTENANT-General Tran Van Tra, Head of the PRG Military Delegation, on a visit to the DRVN, on April 20 morning called on the Command of the DRVN Anti-Aircraft and Air Forces. He was accompanied by Colonel Phung The Tai, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Viet Nam People's Army.

Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra was warmly received by the staff officers of the said Command.

On behalf of the people and the liberation armed forces of South Viet Nam, Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra expressed his elation at the recent glorious exploit of the VNPA anti-aircraft and air forces. He conveyed to the latter their warmest greetings, and wished for the ever greater successes of the VNPA anti-aircraft and air forces.

Later in the morning, Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra visited the 77th missile battalion and was enthusiastically received by its officers and men.

In the afternoon, Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra called on the Hanoi Administrative Committee. On behalf of the people and the armed forces of Hanoi, Mayor Tran Duy Hung warmly welcomed Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra, and voiced the great pride of the Hanoi people and armed forces in the glorious victories of the South Vietnamese people. He expressed the Hanoi population's resolve to struggle side by side with their brothers in the South for a durable peace, the accomplishment of the national democratic revolution in the South, and the peaceful reunification of the country.

A grand reception was given here on April 20 evening by the Ministry of National Defence of the DRVN to bid farewell to Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra, Head of the Military Delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, who had successfully concluded his visit to North Viet Nam.

Speaking at the reception, General Vo Nguyen Giap warmly welcomed the splendid success of Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra's visit to North Viet Nam, saying that it had brought to the army and people of the North boundless pride in the great victory and boundless confidence in the bright prospects of the revolution in South Viet Nam, as well as the blood-sealed sentiments of our countrymen and the liberation forces in the heroic South.

Dealing with the situation of the implementation of the Paris Agreements on Viet Nam, General Vo Nguyen Giap said :

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam took effect nearly three months ago, yet in the south of our country shooting has not stopped, genuine peace has not been re-established, and our countrymen still have to endure so much suffering and mourning.

The deep root and immediate cause of the above-said situation lies in the fact that the United States has not yet given up its wicked design of imposing neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam. The General stressed :

The lesson of victory is still there. The United States and the Saigon administration should make serious considerations before going deeper into new adventures.

We vehemently condemn the acts of violation of the Agreement and sabotage of peace by the United States and the Saigon administration.

Once again, we affirm that no perfidious scheme, no brutal and reactionary force, no words or acts of arrogant intimidation can subdue the Vietnamese people. The wheel of history will crush all obstacles on the path of our Vietnamese people toward the realization of their sacred rights to independence and freedom. Loyal to their solemn oath, the people and combatants in the North pledge to stand shoulder-by-shoulder with their countrymen and comrades in the beloved South, enhance their unity, and resolutely struggle for the strict and thorough implementation of the Paris Agreement in order to preserve and consolidate peace, complete independence and democracy in the South and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country.

In his reply, Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra expressed his great emotion at these heartfelt words of General Vo Nguyen Giap and the deep love manifested by the North Vietnamese people.

Dealing with the present situation in South Viet Nam, Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra said : In the south of our Fatherland, there is not yet genuine ceasefire, the blood of our compatriots and combatants continue to shed, and millions of our people still live in suffering and separation. That is because the United States and the Saigon administration have not ceased to violate in a systematic and calculated manner and more and more seriously many provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra once more reiterated the unchanged stand of the RSVN PRG to thoroughly respect and strictly implement all the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

He stressed :

The Vietnamese people have fought for decades and have gained one victory after another. Nowadays, the situation has changed completely. In the flush of the victories, already recorded, and with the combative unity of the entire people, with the deep sympathy and wholehearted support of all our comrades and friends, and of the peace-loving people the world over, we are firmly convinced that no matter what perfidious plot and brutal move the bellicose and fascist forces may resort to, the just cause of the South Vietnamese people will finally triumph.

General Vo Nguyen Giap and Lieutenant-General Tran Van Tra proposed toasts to the great victory of the anti-US resistance war for national salvation of the Vietnamese people, to the victory of the South Vietnamese people's struggle for peace, independence, democracy, welfare and national concord.

Suspension of mines removal and US reconnaissance flights over North Viet Nam denounced

ON April 17, 1973, the US government unwarrantedly suspended the removal of mines in the territorial waters, ports, and waterways of the DRVN and withdrew its mine-clearing forces from areas where they were operating.

On April 19, US aircraft illegally made reconnaissance flights over the territory of the DRVN. On the same day, in Paris, the US side unilaterally suspended the work of the DRVN-US Joint Economic Commission.

Thus, along with the extremely barbarous US escalation of the war of aggression in Cambodia, the resumption of US bombing in Laos and the instigation of the Saigon administration by the US to continue land-grabbing operations against the areas under the control of the PRG of the RSVN, the recent acts of the US have seriously violated Articles 2 and 21 of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

As is known to everybody, the US had conducted air wars of destruction against the DRVN and dropped tens of thousands of mines to blockade all the ports and waterways of North Viet Nam. Over two months after the signing of the Agreement, however the US has deliberately delayed the implementation of some important provisions of the Agreement which it had committed to strictly respect and scrupulously implement. To cover up these acts of violation, the US government has ceaselessly slandered the DRVN in a bid to shift the responsibility to the latter and to plead for its ever more serious violations of the Agreement.

The South Vietnamese people sternly condemn the said acts of violation of the Agreement by the US, resolutely demand that it quickly carry out the removal of mines, stop all acts encroaching upon the sovereingnty and security of the DRVN, and fully accomplish its duty of healing the wounds of war that it had caused to the Vietnamese people, and all its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of the South Vietnamese people, and strictly implement all the provisions of the Paris Argeement on Viet Nam.

U.S. ESCALATION IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS

THE recent developments in Cambodia and Laos have given rise to greater and greater apprehension and misgivings.

In Cambodia, on April 15, 1973, the Saigon invaders, supported by armoured vehicles, from Hong Ngu and Tan Chau crossed the border but were repelled with heavy losses, on April 16, fresh contingents of Saigon troops were hurled together with war vessels into operations along the frontiers. Meanwhile, the US air war in Cambodia has been raging for over 40 days, unabated. The American imperialists are contemplating dispatching to Cambodia Thai mercenaries and even "leathernecks" from Okinawa to the rescue of the Phnom Penh regime (*AP*, April 19).

In Laos, while the Lao people were celebrating the New Year festival, on April 15 and 16, American planes, including B.52s repeatedly hit at the Plain of Jars—Xieng Khouang held by the patriotic forces. Previously, Vientiane troops, assisted by Thai mercenaries had mounted many raids on the areas under the control of the patriotic forces and engaged in spying activities there. By dissuading the Vientiane authorities from signing of the protocols to the Vientiane agreement on the restoration of peace and realization of national concord on Laos and the formation of the national political council and provisional government, the Americans have been obviously challenging the Vientiane accord and stepping up the war in Laos.

Remarkably enough, such a situation has arisen after Haig's trip to Saigon, Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Bangkok and Nguyen Van Thieu's swing through the US.

Hardly had Haig left Saigon when the rumor of a possible "South Vietnamese army's invasion of Cambodia" was abroad. He undoubtedly visited Nakhon Phanom—new HQ of the US army in Thailand—to give orders to B.52s to strike savagely at Cambodia and Laos.

On his part, after his American trip, Thieu made fiery statements against the Paris Agreement and called for US reinvolvement in Viet Nam and Indochina. He clamoured that "the communists had not agreed to the re-establishment of peace in Cambodia and Laos;" he described the US fierce bombings of Cambodia as a move "to defend peace in Viet Nam" and "to restore peace in Indochina." He had the cheek to state that as the Nixon doctrine is fundamental to the war, it will continue to be strictly applied;" The warned that he and the US "will have appropriate and very strong reactions."

It is clear that all the above-mentioned moves are part of a plan of coordinated action between the US and its lackeys. They give the lie to the Americans' and quislings' slanderous charges against the PRG and DRVN Government and unmistakably show that they are but manoeuvres to conceal their scheme to prolong the hostilities in this part of the world and to impose neo-colonialism on the three Indochinese countries.

Thus, three months, after the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, nearly two months after the signing of the International Conference's Act on Viet Nam and two months after the signing of the Vientiane Agreement on Laos, the situation in Indochina has greatly deteriorated, due to that new US war escalation. The Americans and Saigon quislings have not only brazenly violated Articles 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 of the Paris Agreement regarding South Viet Nam but also Articles 3 (c) and 20 of that Agreement and Article 8 of the International Conference's Act with regard to the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos; the Americans have also sabotaged the Vientiane Agreement on Laos.

At a time when the world's peoples are deeply concerned about the situation in Indochina and are urging a strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Vientiane Agreement on Laos and an end to US involvement in Cambodia, the new US-Saigon war escalation in Cambodia and Laos is an insolent challenge to public opinion in Indochina, in the US and in the world.

The American imperialists and their valets are trying to hush up the truth, but their "denials" and such stock-in-trade pleas as "self-defence action" "steps taken at the request" of the quisling administrations... fail to conceal facts and to negate the legal validity of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Vientiane Agreement on Laos.

THE South Vietnamese people strongly denounce this new war escalation of the Americans and their henchmen and insist that the latter abide by the agreements signed. The US imperialists must put an end to their military involvement in Indochina, and halt the bombing of Cambodia and Laos. The Saigon administration must stop all encroaching operations in South Viet Nam and pull its invading troops out of Cambodia. All the Thai mercenaries must withdraw at once from Laos; the Vientiane administration must cease all incursions and commando activities in the territories controlled by the Lao patriotic forces.

The South Vietnamese people warn the American imperialists and their agents that things have changed now. Prolongation and intensification of the war will only lead to more heinous crimes and heavier setbacks of theirs. The varnish of US neo-colonialism — the Nixon doctrine — has been washed away by the Indochinese maelstrom. And whatever new paint it may be covered with; it is but an obsolete doctrine, a brand of colonialism good only for the dust bin.

The peoples of South Viet Nam and of Indochina are resolved never to accept US neo-colonialism under any form. In the flush of their recent victories, they are determined not to loosen the grip on their guns and slacken their vigilance; in the light of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, they pledge to further close their ranks in the fight to liberate their respective countries and to contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

DAI LIEN

Brothers-in-arms: *Cambodia's Head of State Norodom Sihanouk happy to meet again Khieu Samphon, Vice-Premier, Defence Minister and C-in-C of Cambodia's PLAF*

Here and There

IT NEVER RAINS BUT IT POURS

The President — "Mayor of Pnom Penh" has got bad luck these last few months.

He and his confederates had a close shave, as we all know, on March 17, 1973 when his predidential palace was bombed by former pilot So Phitra, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's son-in-law. In retaliation, coupled with other white terror measures in the Cambodia capital, he threw into jail eight members of the Royal family, including Princess Botum Bopha, the airman's wife, and other sons and daughters of Samdech (*AP*). He had not recovered from the shock when he learned that Samdech himself had been touring the liberated areas for a full month, with other leaders of his government. Think that the Minister for Information of Lol Nol's "Republic" had got no intelligence of the trip! And his body of fortune-tellers seemed to be caught napping too!

And that was not all. Despite massive B.52 bombings for more than a month, Pnom Penh remains tightly invested and proclaimed to be "in a state of siege." Arrests and purges are stepped up while the dearth of necessities is aggravating critically: rice, petrol, water and electricity are acutely short. To such an extent that Senator Mansfield has admitted that in spite of eternal (US) aid, the Lon Nol government has little or no chance of surviving (*AP*, April 12)

This view is naturally not shared by Mr Nixon who hastily sent Haig, a US security advisor on a shuttle tour between Saigon, Pnom Penh, Bangkok and in an attempt to set up at once an air lift of arms and fuel for Lon Nol.

HIDE-AND-SEEK

Meanwhile public opinion is being prepared with leaks like:

— The Saigon administration is contemplating the possibility of using its warships and troops for the opening of the Mekong waterway up to Cambodia's capital, as a measure for the defence of South Viet Nam's security (*Reuter*, April 13);

— Mr Nixon is rumoured to have decided on measures to help the Lon Nol government resist the communist offensive and face Hanoi's moves (*Reuter*, April 12).

Then the usual string of denials: no question of an Indochina crisis, no question at all of a GI return to Indochina, no proposal for a dispatch of Saigon soldiery to the rescue of the Lon Nol regime (Statement of US Defence Secretary Richardson).

At long last, on April 15, thousands of Saigon mecenaries, supported by armour, crossed the frontier from Hong Ngu to Tan Chau into Cambodian territory. And Thieu continued to deploy troops and warships in operations on both sides of the border in co-ordination with Lon Nol's men and US Air Force.

In the meantime, the latter savagely struck with B.52's at Lao liberated areas, in the height of the country's Tet. And on April 10, the Defence Department spokesman made clear that the resumption of US bombings against Laos and South Vietnamese troops' tresspassing of Cambodian border were only self-defence steps against invasion.

Other moves were also taken: unilateral withdrawal of mine-clearing teams from the DRVN maritime area, unilateral suspension on April 19 of the discussions of the DRVN — US Joint Economic Commission and on the same day, infringements of the former's airspace by recon drones in Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Hoa Binh, Yen Bai, Vinh Phu, Ha Bac, Ha Noi and Hai Phong, and also on April 18 and 19, the successive visits of Lieutenant General Sac Sucsacan, Lon Nol's special envoy and Gotlee, US Ambassador to Laos to Bangkok for interviews with Thanon Kitticachorn with a view to pressing for military and economic aid to Lon Nol.

The Nixon doctrine will spring on us other surprises. But the world is already in the know. And as far as we are concerned, we are perfectly aware of what we have to do.

A SLAP IN THE FACE

After his "aerial" tour in the US and Europe, Thieu, no doubt at his boss's instigation, let it be known that he would go on another trip to "six Asian nations," i.e. Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, to "thank" them and request them to step up their "post war aid" to him.

The Australian government'a spokesman, *AFP* reported, made it unmistakably clear that the Saigon despot would not be welcome to his country. There is little chance, he said, that the Australian government is prepared or desirous to receive Thieu.

Such a terse bit of information is really tantalizing for the readers.

It reminds us of the Bonn Chancellor's comment on the South Vietnamese "President": "He is a visitor whose departure is more welcome than his arrival."

HUONG NAM

Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh visits Mongolia

AT the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of Mongolia, a delegation of the South Viet Nam NFL and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam headed by Mme Nguyen Thi Binh, member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam paid an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Mongolia from April 3 to 9, 1973.

During her stay, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh was cordially received by Mr Yumjagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRM.

The Presidium of Great People's Hural of People's Republic of Mongolia offered "Order of North-Pole Star" to Minister Nguyen Thi Binh for her great contribution to the consolidation of the international solidarity of the peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces all over the world.

Talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternity between Mr L. Rin Tsin, member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PRM, and Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, member of the South Viet Nam NFLCC and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PRG of the RSVN.

Through the talks which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, views were exchanged on the relations between the two sides and on urgent development in the international situation of common concern. The two Ministers signed the joint communiqué, at the close of the Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh's visit to the PRM.

It said :

"The Government and people of the People's Republic of Mongolia warmly hail the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and consider it as a historic victory of the heroic Vietnamese people and the South Viet Nam patriotic forces in their anti-US resistance for national salvation. This great victory is closely linked to the assistance in all fields of the socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the peace-loving and progressive forces the world over.

The two sides underscore the great significance of the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam... The Act has confirmed and strengthened the legality of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, solemnly recognized the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and demanded that the signatories strictly observe and scrupulously implement all the provisions of that Agreement.

The Government of the People's Republic of Mongolia expresses its full support to the goodwill and serious attitude of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and its Protocols.

The two sides express their deep concern over the fact that the United States and the Saigon administration have been violating repeatedly, systematically and more and more gravely many provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, especially the provisions on the ceasefire, the prohibition of illegal transportation of military personnel and weapons to South Viet Nam, the guarantee of the democratic liberties of the people and the return of civilian personnel captured and detained in the war.

The Government of the People's Republic of Mongolia fully supports the April 1, 1973 statement of the PRG of the RSVN and the March 30, 1973 statement of the DRVN Government which resolutely demand that the US government and the Saigon administration strictly observe and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and its Protocols."

On the Indochinese situation, the joint communiqué pointed out :

"The two sides warmly welcome the signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos and consider it as a great victory recorded by the people in their struggle for independence, sovereignty and unity of the Fatherland.

The two sides firmly demand that the United States end completely its bombings on the territory of Cambodia and its interference in the internal affairs of this country, and express their support to the Cambodian people's struggle for their fundamental national rights."

The joint communiqué continued :

"Loyal to its internationalist obligation, the Mongolian side affirms its stand for continual support and assistance in all fields to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people till total victory, and wishes the South Viet Nam NFL and the PRG of the RSVN, the sole legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people many successes in the struggle for the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam to peaceful reunification of the homeland.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the South Vietnamese people, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh expresses sincere and deep gratitude for the warm and valuable support and assistance of the People's Revolutionary Party, Government and fraternal people of Mongolia for the Vietnamese people's just cause."

World's workers' contribution to Viet Nam's victory

IT is by not accident that immediately after the re-establishment of peace, the Bureau of the World Federation of Trade-Union held in Hanoi in the end of March an emergency session on Viet Nam. It was one of the multiple manifestations of international solidarity shown by the world's workers and labouring people to the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression. In his opening address, the President of the WFTU pointed out :

"The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam is by no means a solution to all problem. *We are aware that our solidarity tasks have not been fulfilled.* We know

that before winning peace, the Vietnamese people had to shed so much blood, endure so many sufferings and destruction. We shall fulfill our solidarity tasks by helping the Vietnamese people restore their national economy, heal their wounds of war, build a new life of peace and happiness. We shall follow the strict implementation of the Agreement which is being sabotaged by the Thieu clique with US connivance. We shall have to save the lives of thousands of political prisoners nowin danger of being liquidated by the Saigon regime."

Ever since the beginning of our great national resistance to US aggression, the WFTU and other national organizations of the workers and labouring people throughout the world have actively and continuously contributed to the international Support Viet Nam movement. In 1963, the WFTU convened a conference to set up an *International Support Viet Nam Trade Union Committee* which met in Hanoi in 1960. In 1968, it called a session of its Assembly to discuss ways and means to step up the support for Viet Nam. In 1970, it held a Conference of World Trade-Union for Solidarity with the Workers and Labouring People of Indochina. "Support and Aid Viet Nam" and "Denounce US criminal escalation" drives were often launched by the WFTU and its agencies and various national trade-unions. Since 1970, after expansion of the Nixon administration's aggression to the whole of Indochina, a movement of the world's workers to support the three Indochinese peoples has been initiated by the WFTU and national trade-unions with highly efficient forms of activity. Special attention has been given to material and moral support for the fight of South Vietnam's workers and labouring people, especially those in enemy-occupied cities.

The above-mentioned activities of progressive trade-unions have given a strong stimulus to workers and labourers all over the world to find increasingly effective ways to support the Vietnamese people's effort. In the socialist countries, apart from the considerable and valuable support given by the State blood-donating and fund-raising campaigns have been often organized in favour of Viet Nam by the labouring people. In factories entrusted with the task of aiding Viet Nam, an extensive emulation drive has been launched by the workers to fulfill ahead of schedule production plans assigned to them and to turn out good-quality products for Viet Nam. In other countries, the workers united in common action regardless of political tendencies, religious beliefs and trade-union allegiance to show support for Viet Nam especially in the course of anti-US demonstrations and fund-raising campaigns. Special mention should be made of the countries allied to the US in the Viet Nam war (Japan, Australia, etc.) where efficacious actions were taken against the US war effort. The refusal by Japanese sailors on board the *Bunan Maru* to transfort US arms and war materials to South Viet Nam was no isolated case, since similar boycotts were staged by Australian sailors and dockers too. Japan's workers and labouring people associated their anti-war objectives with demands for better living conditions and democratic liberties all through their famous "spring" drives which drew in millions during the years of US war escalation in Viet Nam and use of Japanese territory as a base for aggression against Viet Nam.

The movement of solidarity with Viet Nam among the world's workers and labourers bears an important political significance. Support for the anti-US resistance of the Vietnamese people was made a prime target of trade-union activities in the war years. Many a time the WFTU and other national trade-unions made it clear that the Vietnamese people's battle for independence and freedom was no mean contribution to the worldwide and long drawn-out fight of the world's labouring class for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. At the extraordinary session on Viet Nam of the WFTU Bureau referred to above, Pierre Gensous, the Secretary General of the WFTU, said : "The world will never forget the Vietnamese people's resistance, sacrifices and heroism. The Vietnamese people in their long resistance have upheld the aspirations and rights of other nations. With an admirable courage they have defended the main values of the whole mankind so dear to the millions of those having peace and social progress at heart."

In this sense, a very active contribution has been made to the Vietnamese people's historic victory by workers all over the world and their trade-unions. As far as we are concerned, we shall never forget it. We fully realize that our gains of today cannot be dissociated from the actions and sacrifices of millions of workers in all continents.

This unprecedented international solidarity is indeed a factor of victory. It also vouches for the success of our next struggle full of hardships but also of promise.

LE MINH

SOUTH VIET NAM — CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION